The Woman's Protest

AGAINST WOMAN SUFFRAGE

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WOMEN IN WAR INDUSTRIES

AN ADDRESS BY RABBI JOSEPH SILVERMAN

PENALIZING PATRIOTISM

THE ENGLISH SITUATION

DEFEAT OF SUFFRAGE IN SWEDEN

SUFFRAGE DEFEATED IN PENNSYLVANIA

SUFFRAGE BOMB FAILS TO EXPLODE

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THE PATRIOTISM AMERICA NEEDS

An Address Delivered at the Patriotic Mass Meeting at Cooper Union, April 30th

By Rabbi Joseph Silverman

IN the present world war, into which America has been forced by the deplorable yet inevitable conflict between the united monarchies of the world, the ordinary kind of patriotism that obtains in times of peace will not suffice. With America's entrance into the war, all conditions have changed. Hitherto we have, as a nation, maintained neutrality. But since declaration of hostilities on the part of America has become imperative through the irresistible logic of highly offensive belligerent nations, a different course than has hitherto obtained is urged upon us. Neutrality, hitherto a meritorious virtue, now becomes treasonable. Pacifism, hitherto borne with patience, now becomes intolerable. The die has been cast. America has entered the lists for the preservation of its own rights, privileges and liberties as an independent nation, as well as for the defense of the rights of humanity against all aggression.

This is a war for civilization and for world peace. It calls for patriotism in the sense of a consecration of citizens on the altar of humanity's needs. We go forth to wage a crusade against the destruction of weaker nations by the stronger ones for their own aggrandizement. We go forth to end a war that has become a stupendous holocaust in which all sense of right and humanity has been lost. This is not a selfish war, but a holy cause, in which America is engaged. And therefore patriotism is needed that is tantamount to a devout consecration to the noble championship of humanity's rights. America needs a patriotism of holy vision, of high purpose, of noble resolve. As the farmers of Lexington and Concord fought not for crops and barns, so the soldiers of America will fight not for commerce or territory, but for the loftiest principles of liberty and the law.

The patriotism of the hour demands great sacrifices of men and women. Soldiers must be trained and fitted for their arduous duties. But the nation must be first trained to become heroic. Are we a nation of heroes and heroines, as were the builders of this great republic? That remains to be proven.

Has America the heroism to utter the battle cry of 1776, "Give me liberty or give me death!"? That slogan was not merely a peroration of perfervid oratory, but rather the outburst of a passion that had been created and fed by the exigencies of a pioneer life in a land that seemed to be a free gift of heaven to mankind. It was the protest of the children of nature against the effete thraldom of the Old World, against ideas of king and subject, master and slave.

With the birth of this nation, based upon liberty and democracy, a new meaning was given to patriotism. The heroes of 1776 were not time servers; they could not be bought, bribed or coerced into serving a monarch against their convictions. There were heroic giants in those days, like Patrick Henry, the Adamses, Thomas Jefferson, Benjamin Franklin, Alexander Hamilton, John Hancock, Robert Morris, Nathan Hale, George Washington, who formed a galaxy of martyrs to the cause of liberty and law. Have we such heroes to-day? And will there come forth in the present conflict a class of soldiers with singleness of purpose and high resolve determined to give their time, their substance, their very lives to the cause of their country and humanity?

This is the great question of the hour. And it must be answered in the affirmative, if America is to take its place among the nations of the world as a buffer against oppression and an active champion of humanity's rights. Our nation must again be set aflame with the heroic spirit of 1776. On April 19, 1917, the 142d anniversary of the battles of Lexington and Concord and of Paul Revere's memorable midnight ride, was celebrated. Paul Revere rode on that never-to-be-forgotten night in 1775 to awaken his countrymen from their sleep and to call them to arms in self-defense against invasion. Let us, as it were, follow his noble example and wake up America to a full realization of the menace that it is facing and to the necessity of being alive to the gravity of this world conflict, of which we are now an important part. Let us call out to our country: "Awake! Arise! To arms, the enemy is at your door!" Do not feel secure because you have not yet heard the blast of cannon. At any moment a bomb may burst in air and hurl destruction upon the sleeping homes of our great city. Let us heed the words of our President and rally to his support and the defense of the nation.

The nation has called for a half million volunteers. This call should be answered by two millions of our stalwart men. Fathers and mothers, husbands and wives, must steel their hearts and urge their sons to enlist for their country's service. Let no one restrain or discourage these young men. Let there be but one impulse impelling all parents to make sacrifices in this great national emergency. It will be hard, but the hard thing must be done now. Follow the example of that Spartan mother who sent her sons to the war for their country, and that great American woman who in the Civil War gave her five sons to the cause of the Union.

America needs the co-operation of every citizen, and it becomes the duty of every woman and child to prepare for defense and, if necessary, for offense. Every citizen should prepare himself physically, mentally and morally. Fling away all dawdling and weakness and practice stoicism and resistance against temptation. In order that the nation may become heroic, every individual must first become physically well and strong. Then he must become a moral hero and learn the hard lesson of renunciation, to renounce every form of pleasure and vice that is enervating and degrading, and recover his lost vigor! Let him rise with a supreme effort to the upper plane of high thinking, plain living and noble doing. The patriotism of the hour calls for supermen and superwomen, for citizens who can practice rational economy. There should be no waste of food even in the richest home. Food is also ammunition. Soldiers at the front in Europe, when handed the bullets wherewith to load their guns, turned around and cried for "bread bullets" with which to defend themselves first against starvation. Therefore, let there be economy, in order that there may be sufficient food to feed the defenders of the nation and those in Europe who are in sore distress.

This is a time when there should be no display of luxury or finery or extravagance. Men at the front are sacrificing their lives that those in the rear may live. Therefore let those in the rear be humble and self-sacrificing.

For such a defense of our country every citizen must be ready to serve. Wait not to be drafted, but volunteer to do some service that may be valuable to the country. The patriotism that America needs at this time calls for a united country, in order that it may present the greatest show of strength. This is a time when every form of prejudice must be eliminated. Let there be an end to class and group distinctions that only breed envy and animosity. Every citizen, whether at the front or at home, should consider himself a part of the American army, and as such should realize that all soldiers are equal, that they stand under the same banner and are fighting for the same country. Let us democratize our democracy and present to the world an ideal American Republic fighting for the universal Republic.

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The Woman's Protest invites letters from its readers.

There are even greater words than Liberty, Equality and Rights. Lacordaire, during the revolution in France, dared to say to his countrymen: "You have written upon the monuments of your city the words Liberty, Fraternity, Equality. Above Liberty write Duty, above Fraternity write Humility, above Equality write Service, above the immemorial creed of your Rights inscribe the divine creed of your Duties."

WOMEN IN WAR INDUSTRIES

THERE is a general impression in the minds of people that a large proportion of the women of England have been drawn into industry to replace the men who have gone to war.

An article from the *Board of Trade Labour Gazette*, London, of recent date gives interesting data on the subject.

The report estimates that the net increase since July, 1914, in the number of women engaged in occupations as a result of the war up to the end of January, 1917, is approximately 809,000, including the workers in munitions, transportation, agriculture, etc. The number of women employed in all occupations in England at the outbreak of the war was nearly 4,000,000, as given in the census of 1911. This means that the war had added less than one-fourth of the number of women previously engaged in occupations. Of these 809,000 additional women employed since July, 1914, less than 400,000 are employed in industrial occupations.

Five millions of men have joined the army since its outbreak and the 800,000 women enumerated have therefore replaced less than 17 per cent. of them.

These figures, it is obvious, are much lower than anything that could be inferred from the vague statements that are made for propaganda purposes on the subject of the employment of women. But they help us to keep a sense of proportion.

In the United States, for example, if the same proportion holds true, the number of women who will be called upon because of any industrial demand to replace men who have gone to war would be most insignificant. It is estimated that the United States, because of the difficulty of transportation, will not be able to effectively use more than 1,000,000 men in war. If 17 per cent. of the men of England who have gone to war have been replaced by women, the same proportion in the United States would place the number of women so employed at 170,000.

But in England 40 per cent. of the males of working age are fighting in the trenches, while in the United States, out of 32,000,000 of males 14 years of age and over, only 1,000,000 will enter the army, or a little over 3 per cent. The positions made vacant by their withdrawal will in all probability be largely recruited from the male population not eligible for war.

One is forced to admit therefore that the upheaval in the labor market caused by the war is relatively of small proportions. No doubt it looms large in the eye of sentiment, women directly engaged in making munitions of war, women in the transportation service, in agriculture, all these make, and quite rightly, an impressive showing and have in England proved themselves indispensable, but the facts here quoted will enable us to gauge the extent of the so-called revolutionizing of the labor market prophesied by those who have political nostrums to dispense.

Naturally these figures furnish no criterion of what may be termed woman's contribution to the war. But the other activities are in the realm of woman's normal work in the world, and for the most part work which women only can do.

PUTTING THE PAY IN PATRIOTISM

THE demand for woman suffrage as a war measure is a piece of political propaganda not hard to understand.

Such a demand must be made on one of two grounds. Either that it is a reward due woman for service rendered the country during war or that the country will be greatly benefited in time of war by putting its political affairs in the hands of women.

As to the first of these propositions. Aside from the obvious insult to the women of the country in putting a price on their patriotism, it is evident from the statistics quoted above that there will be no considerable number of women entering the industrial world as a result of the war. Even if 1,000,000 women were compelled to enter industry in the place of the 1,000,000 men sent to the front, this would add less than one-eighth to the 8,500,000 women already employed in gainful pursuits.

To demand the ballot for all women because of what even 1,000,000 women may or may not do during the war shows how eagerly the suffragists grasp at any peg upon which to hang a bit of propaganda.

As to the war service rendered by women who are doing their bit voluntarily and from patriotic motives alone in the Red Cross and kindred organizations, it is a mistake to suppose such work is being done only by suffragists. As a matter of fact, while suffragists have carefully and persistently emblazoned suffrage across every piece of war work that has been done, the great majority of the women who are rendering this patriotic service are opposed to woman suffrage and the suffragists are exploiting their work without reference to their wants or wishes.

The deliberate attempt of the suffragists to obscure the issue by trading on the war work of thousands of women who have no sympathy with woman suffrage creates a danger which anti-suffragists cannot afford to ignore.

Suffragists have no right to demand the ballot for the "women who are doing patriotic work," and it is high time for anti-suffragists to make this fact known.

PENALIZING PATRIOTISM

By Mrs. Barclay Hazard

WE are all familiar with the somewhat depressing copy-book maxim that virtue is its own reward. We accept this dictum with more or less cheerfulness and would certainly prefer it to having virtue rewarded in a way which is neither desired nor agreeable.

To the majority of women it is extremely trying to have men announce that they are ready now to bestow the suffrage on women as a reward for their services during the present war. These women who have made and are making tremendous sacrifices of time, energy and strength, cannot but feel aggrieved at having thus thrust upon them in the guise of a boon an added burden against which, before the war, they had leisure to emphatically protest.

The women in England who have now for nearly three years borne the brunt of the most terrific struggle the world has ever seen, who have taxed their physical strength and mental endurance to the utmost, look with dismay on the threatened reward of suffrage for their heroic labors. Our papers announce confidently that suffrage has come in England. It might be well, however, for these jubilant advocates to recall how often Ireland has received Home Rule. During the last forty years there have been many occasions on which Home Rule seemed not only certain, but inevitable. Leader after leader of the Irish party has been proclaimed as having at last vanquished opposition and as having secured the coveted prize. And yet it has not come and it would be a bold politician who would dare to set even an approximate date for its arrival. So with woman's suffrage in England; while it may be adopted as a government measure, it is impossible to foresee accurately the ultimate result of the measure. The anti-suffragists have by no means given up the fight. The pressure of the war becomes every day more severely felt. Whether this present ministry will succeed in keeping itself in office much longer remains to be seen. Should there be a general election with suffrage one of the vital questions, it is not at all improbable that the new House of Commons would contain a large majority in opposition.

It is rather ridiculous that just because women have demonstrated on a large scale their remarkable power of adapting themselves to emergency work they should be compelled when peace is declared to carry extra political burdens. Let men take the trouble to find out what women really want before they go rewarding them by penalizing them.

Kipling tells us that unsought love is the worst of gifts and an unwelcome reward is surely a deterrent, not an incentive to patriotic exertion.

SUFFRAGE *vs.* PATRIOTISM

AT a hearing before the Suffrage Committee of the United States Senate some weeks ago the president of the National Woman Suffrage Association, who presided, said in her opening remarks:

"Women of darkest Russia and darkest Mexico have been liberated from thralldom and promoted to freedom before those of our own country." "We as a nation have been outstripped in the march of progress." "The hearts of American women would beat more happily could they feel that our own *Government had been true* to the standard it now proposes to unfurl upon an international field." "Our country has placed a penalty on its women for being Americans."

In her book entitled, "Women Suffrage by Federal Constitutional Amendment" and dedicated to the United States Congress, she says:

"The women who know" (meaning, of course, the suffragists) "cannot rise to the 'Star-Spangled Banner' without a lump in their throats, for they recognize the terrible fact that hidden *under its beautiful pretense of democracy* is a hideous menace to our national liberties which no political party, no legislature, no Congress has dared to drag out into the light of public knowledge."

At this hearing the suffragists sat flanked by the flags of twenty-two nations, not one of which was our own beloved Stars and Stripes. As usual in suffrage gatherings, "Old Glory" was conspicuously absent.

Some days later Mrs. Catt spoke in Toronto, as a member of the Women's Committee of the Council of National Defense. One paper in Toronto reported her speech as "long on woman suffrage and short on defense," and another characterized her address as "distinctly unpatriotic."

In Columbus, Ohio, on May 18th, she said: "The United States has no right to talk about 'making the world safe for democracy.'" "We had better blot the mote from our own eye before we go forth and want to blot it from the Prussian eye."

In times of peace the largest liberality of free speech has always reigned here. Even the severest criticisms of government have been passed over. But war ends that tolerance. A criticism which in times of peace is only a piece of bad taste is held to be seditious in times of war.

Every one of the above quotations has been made since the declaration of war, some of them while their author was traveling under a commission of the Government she thus assails.

Mrs. Catt is demanding equality with men, but it goes without saying that if any man member of the National Council of Defense gave voice to such disparagement of his Government, or took advantage of his appointment to the extent of turning his work into political propaganda, he would be removed from the Council and reprimanded for his utterances.

Is it not time for this country to "wake up" and to understand what its duty is to itself and the Allies?

While the Department of Justice is taking stenographic notes of so-called pacifist meetings and I. W. W. harangues, it might be well to turn its attention to the utterances of some of the President's latest appointees.

THE ENGLISH SITUATION

THE Electoral Reform Bill was introduced in the House of Commons on May 15th and passed the second reading on May 23d by a vote of 329 to 40. Embodying the recommendations of the Speaker's Electoral Reform Conference, it provides for the enfranchisement of a restricted number of women. The present electorate in England is estimated at 8,375,000. Under the new bill, if it should pass both Houses of Parliament, the number will be increased by 2,000,000 men and 6,000,000 women. The limitations placed on the franchise for women are far from pleasing to the suffragists. It is estimated that full suffrage would enfranchise about 14,000,000 of women, and the present bill looks like a makeshift or a sop to the suffragists.

Men in Great Britain are in the minority by 2,000,000 or more and to admit women to the franchise on the same terms as men would place the control of the government in the hands of a considerable feminine majority. Parliament has evaded this issue by placing restrictions on the vote most unwelcome to the suffragists. The first restriction was in the matter of age. The voting age for women is placed at thirty years. If English women are at all like other women it will be difficult to find anything like 6,000,000 of them who will confess to thirty years. In most of the woman suffrage States in this country the law requiring a man to give his age has been annulled for women who are only required to swear that they are twenty-one.

Other restrictions of the bill limit the franchise to university electors (graduates of universities having parliamentary representation), local government electors and the wives of voters. The last class is the largest, constituting 5,200,000 of the 6,000,000 women enfranchised. The following comment is clipped from the *Anti-Suffrage Review* for May, 1917, written before the bill had been introduced into the House of Commons:

"For the present the woman suffrage issue is centered in Parliament, and anti-suffragists must face that fact. The merits or demerits of the proposed innovation are no longer under examination. Sentiment or political considerations have gained the upper hand among our politicians, and the attempt is to be made to commit the country to woman suffrage by the majority vote of a Parliament that is being maintained in existence solely for the purpose of carrying on the war. According to present indications, an electoral reform bill, containing a clause enfranchising women, will shortly be presented to the House of Commons. Suffragists hope that, on the strength of the great compromise achieved by the Speaker's Conference—a compromise which covered every point except woman suffrage—and with the help of the glamour attaching to women's work in the war, the woman suffrage clause will obtain the majority which is held to be assured for the rest of the bill, and so become law. The House of Lords, it is argued, will not dare to run counter these days to an overwhelming majority of the Lower House. We do not disguise from ourselves the possibility of this program being carried out, if, for instance, anti-suffragists take no further interest in the matter. But anyone who has really devoted careful study to the subject of woman suffrage, who has watched the trend of political affairs in the suffragist States, who has examined critically suffragist arguments, suffragist aims and suffragist methods, is so convinced that the whole obsession is fundamentally wrong that he or she remains as certain that woman suffrage must fail to materialize in the United Kingdom as they are certain that the cause of the Allies must triumph in the war. Just how the cup is to be dashed from the lips of suffragists in this instance we make no claim to know; but we are confident that, if anti-suffragists are true to themselves and to the trust imposed upon them as the sole guardians at this stage of the Constitution, then woman suffrage will be defeated.

First of all, it may be well to examine what stands between the suffragists and success. The voting on the amendment in connection with Mr. Asquith's motion calling for immediate legislation in accordance with the recommendations of the Speaker's Conference, revealed an overwhelming majority (343 to 64) in favor of an electoral reform measure. It is true that woman suffrage figured prominently in the debate, but no member of Parliament pretends that the Division List represented the views of the House on the subject of votes for women. When a woman suffrage clause figures in the Reform Bill nothing will avail to cloak the fact that it stands alone as not being part of the great political compromise which the Speaker's Conference achieved in regard to all other details of electoral reform. Consequently no violence will be done either to the political truce or to the spirit of coalition government by excluding this old-time controversy from an agreed bill. It is impossible to ignore the sorry figure which suffragists have cut over the egregious age restriction recommended by the conference. Here is the very essence of the whole proposal, and what is the attitude of its supporters? The well-being of the country, they argue, depends on the enfranchisement of women, but as the enfranchisement of women without restriction would admittedly be disastrous, it must be hedged about with limitations which will enable us to declare that it is non-injurious to the interests of the country.

* * * * * *

If neither conviction nor commonsense avails to save the present House of Commons from betraying the nation's trust, there remains the House of Lords, and to that House anti-suffragists will look to point the way which the Lower House ought to take of its own accord—that is, to refuse to consider any woman suffrage measure until it has been made the subject of a direct appeal to the electorate, and indeed to women as well.

Thus it will be seen that the suffragists, with their subterranean campaign, like the Germans with their submarine warfare, have still some way to go before they achieve their aim. But both would sweep all before them, if no steps were taken to counteract their machinations. Anti-suffragists throughout the country, as our American Allies would say, must "wake up and get going."

SUFFRAGE DEFEATED IN SWEDEN

The Woman Suffrage Amendment was rejected in the first Chamber of the Swedish Diet on June 10th. This postpones for some years any further consideration of the suffrage bill. A new Diet will be elected this fall for a period of three years. Even if it should act favorably on the suffrage amendment, that action would have to be ratified by the Diet elected in 1920 to become a law, so that under no circumstances could the women of Sweden vote for members of the Diet before 1923.

SUFFRAGE BOMB FAILS TO EXPLODE

EQUAL suffrage advocates were greatly disappointed on the 6th of June when a little suffrage bomb they had manufactured for the House of Representatives failed to explode.

Representative John R. Mann, Republican leader of the House, was the willing instrument by which they hoped to accomplish their ends. But the "battle royal" proved to be no battle at all. The Democratic leader, Mr. Kitchin, adroitly smashed the warlike strategy of the suffragists.

The New York *Tribune* for June 7th describes the fray:

(From the *Tribune* Bureau)

WASHINGTON, June 6th.—James R. Mann, Republican leader of the House, failed to pull off his suffrage coup to-day, which he had thought would prove so embarrassing to the Democrats, but in his effort he stirred up opposition in his own party which lieutenants of the leader admitted had never before been equalled.

On the other hand, the Democratic members of the House were chuckling all the rest of the day over the skill shown by their floor leader, Claude Kitchin.

Mr. Mann decided several days ago that he would get all the Republican members in Washington, take the Democrats by surprise and win the undying gratitude of the suffragists by getting the Federal suffrage amendment out of the Judiciary Committee and forcing a vote on that measure on the floor of the House.

Yesterday Mr. Mann changed his mind about taking the Democrats by surprise. Perhaps this was due to his wish not to play what might be called a dirty trick. Perhaps he was not so anxious after all to have his motion to discharge the Judiciary Committee from further consideration of the suffrage resolution succeed. At all events, he gave the Democrats notice of what he intended to do, and they were on hand in full force to-day. This did not bother Mr. Mann. He smiled amiably as he thought of forcing his friends on the Democratic side to vote for or against suffrage, a vote either way having bad effects not only on the political fortunes of the individual Democrats, but also complicating tremendously the legislative plans of the Democratic leaders.

As soon as the routine business was concluded he sprang to his feet, to make the motion which would have precipitated the suffrage vote. The suffragists, warned of what he expected to happen, thronged the galleries. A few Confederate veterans, who had squeezed in, wondered why so many "ladies and young g'yrls" were there.

Speaker Clark, however, recognized Representative Linthicum, of Baltimore, who had a preferential motion to take up the first bill on the calendar. This authorizes the spending of $100,000 for the erection of a monument in Washington to President Buchanan, whose "watchful waiting" policy prior to the Civil War gave the Confederates such a big advantage in the early days of that struggle.

Representative Miller of Minnesota made a strong speech against erecting a monument to such a man.

"If that money is to be spent, it should be invested in Liberty bonds!" he cried in conclusion. "This Congress should devote its attention to war measures only."

"I agree with the gentleman entirely, and think this Congress should devote itself entirely to war measures," said Democratic Leader Kitchin. "I therefore move the House do now adjourn."

Hoping against hope, Mr. Mann demanded a roll call, which was held, resulting in an immediate adjournment, following which parliamentarians declared the prospect of another opportunity for a vote on suffrage at this session of Congress is rather remote.

Seeming to oppose only the Buchanan proposal, Mr. Kitchin had destroyed Mr. Mann's coup.

PENNSYLVANIA LEGISLATURE DEFEATS PRESIDENTIAL SUFFRAGE

ON May 28th the House of Representatives of Pennsylvania adopted a resolution to lay upon the table a motion by Representative Mitchell to place on the calendar his bill giving women the right to vote for presidential electors. This disposes of a suffrage bill for this session.

The vote of 77 to 75 does not indicate the strength of the defeat. The Mitchell bill was reported from committee with a negative recommendation. That means that 104 votes, a constitutional majority, are necessary before the bill can be placed on the calendar.

In voting "No," Representative Golden of Philadelphia "filed his reasons" for so doing, in which he said he protested against "the uncalled-for publicity" directed against the chairman and members of the Committee on Judiciary, which had the bill in charge. He said the letters directed against legislators by the suffragists were unnecessary and "vindictive and insulting, unladylike and presumptuous and cannot be too quickly discontinued and discouraged."

The letter to which Representative Golden refers begins, "We who are about to die salute you," and closes with these words, "We salute the power at present in power, and we salute that power because we anticipate with joy joining all elements opposed to that power whenever and wherever it may be our privilege."

It is just possible that there may be some weak-kneed legislators who will be frightened at such a threat, but if one single thing has been demonstrated during the history of women in politics in this country it is that the suffragists have never been able to carry out their threats.

The famous boycott of Congressmen in 1915 resulted in the re-election with greatly increased majorities of every man they sought to defeat. The creation and organization of a Woman's Party for the sole purpose of defeating President Wilson at the polls proved a boomerang that legislators would do well to consider. The chairman of the Woman's Party, who gleefully announced two weeks before election that she held the State of Nevada in her pocket, certainly suffered from a bad case of political astigmatism.

Not only have the suffragists never had the strength to defeat any man for office but the converse has invariably been demonstrated that any man who has espoused their cause in order to secure the suffrage support has been defeated at the polls the first time the people had a chance to show him what they thought of him.

If legislators would study this phase of the question we suspect that so-called conversions to suffrage would be few and far between.

You can fool some of the people all the time and fool all the people some of the time, but you can't fool all the people all the time; and the suffragists will sooner or later find it out.

ANTI-SUFFRAGIST IN WAR RELIEF WORK

THE Massachusetts Public Interest League of Anti-Suffragists, which since the very beginning of the war has been one of the foremost organizations in the country in humanitarian work, recently presented a beautiful silk flag to the doctors and nurses of Base Hospital No. 7. In presenting this flag Mrs. B. L. Robinson, President of the League, said:

"There has been no class of men in our country so prompt to respond to the needs of the war sufferers, so ready to make great sacrifices for humanity as our doctors and surgeons. They have nobly served on nearly every battle-front since the beginning of the war.

"Our Boston doctors have been leaders in this crusade of mercy. The fight against typhus in Serbia, led by Dr. Strong, and won against such fearful odds, is a thrilling chapter in the history of what science can do when it wishes to heal, not to hurt. Unit after unit has gone to carry life and hope to men wounded in battle. Dr. Cabot, Dr. Cushing, Dr. Lee, Dr. Cannon, Dr. Greenough—the list is much too long to enumerate, but I trust their names will all be cut in marble and placed in some great public building to be kept in perpetual remembrance.

"Since France has been the great battlefield, more of our doctors and their brave helpers, the nurses, have gone to France than to any other country. As the need for their help continues, American doctors, surgeons and nurses continue to go voluntarily, glad and proud of the opportunity for service. Someone has well said: 'Theirs is the Americanism that makes a path of healing light from continent to continent.' Each unit carries its own banner—the flag of our country. Our own Boston City Hospital is soon to send a unit, headed by Dr. Dowling, to Base Hospital No. 7, 'somewhere in France.'

"The privilege of giving to this unit its flag has been granted to the Public Interest's League of Anti-Suffragists, which was the first organization in Massachusetts, if not in the United States, to respond to President Wilson's call for help for the war sufferers in 1914. To be able to send our Stars and Stripes to France, the country whose service to the world the world never can repay, by such messengers of life and healing, is an honor we deeply appreciate. In the name of the Public Interest's League, I present this flag to Base Hospital No. 7."

The flag was accepted by Dr. Nichols of the Boston City Hospital, who has already given several months of service in France.

WARNING was sent out yesterday by the War Relief Committee of the Albany Anti-Suffrage Association that, if there is any let up now in the relief work being done in France, bitter suffering is certain to result. The Albany committee, which has sent great quantities of hospital and food supplies to France during the spring and winter, fears that because the United States Government has made $75,000,000 available for the work of the commission for relief in Belgium, which also operates in some of the communities of northern France, the public will gain the impression there is no further need for individuals carrying on relief in France. Scores of letters have been sent out asking for further financial assistance.

The War Relief Committee is headed by Miss Henrietta Church, president; Mrs. Robert C. Pruyn, secretary, and Miss Esther Taylor, chairman. The chairman of the sub-committee on finance is Mrs. Ledyard Cogswell. In the statement issued yesterday these officials pointed out that the need for relief work in France was never greater than now, in view of the ruthless destruction wrought by Germans in territory abandoned or lost during recent weeks.

"The retreat of the Germans has left in its wake a condition of distress impossible to describe," says the statement.

"At Noyon there are 12,000 people who have not even a blanket to cover them nor a mattress to lay upon. No tools of any kind are left, not even knives, forks, plates or kitchen utensils. Conditions are deplorable, and there will be more of these French sufferers thus restored to their country as the enemy is expelled. We ask Albanians to furnish us with money that we may purchase that which is needed for instant aid.

"The generosity of the American public has for the last two years enabled the war relief clearing house to forward to France and her allies substantial contributions of supplies and money to assist in a small way in relieving the sufferings caused by this unprecedented war. Contributions in the past have been acknowledged with heartfelt gratitude by the French people, and now comes an appeal for aid which is perhaps needed more than ever before. In February the French Government conferred the Cross of the Legion of Honor upon another of our members, the Rev. S. N. Watson. This was in recognition of his work as chairman of the Committee of Distribution of the clearing house and for his other efforts in relief work, as well as his zeal in speaking and writing in favor of France and her allies.

"Dr. Watson is a clergyman of the American Church in Paris. Through the clearing house of France and her allies the Albany branch of anti-suffrge war relief work has sent boxes of supplies to Dr. Watson. These boxes are first acknowledged by the New York clearing house and secondly by the hospital or institution receiving them abroad. These acknowledgments are on view at the war relief rooms of the Anti-Suffrage Association, 36 State Street, Room 50-A, Douw Building.

"We beg of the citizens of Albany to do what they can to assist in meeting this call from our American representatives in France, who are on the ground and know the exact conditions. We thank most heartily those who have already responded to our letter of financial appeal for this noble work."

(Boston, Mass., *Globe*, May 24, 1917)

ANTI-SUFFS TO RAISE BIG WAR RELIEF FUND

The Massachusetts Anti-Suffrage Association has organized a war emergency committee and is planning to raise a large fund for war relief work, it was announced last night. It is also proposed to prepare during the summer an immense stock of sweaters, mufflers and socks for the protection of American soldiers in the trenches during any winter campaign.

While but recently organized, the committee has already sent 100 "comfort bags" to the Naval Militia at Commonwealth Pier. Mrs. William P. Shreve is chairman of the committee and Mrs. John Balch is treasurer.

The Association has also formed a Public Interests League, headed by Mrs. B. L. Robinson, and a supply of checkers, chess and other games was forwarded to the recruits at the Naval Militia receiving station, after a request for such games from Chaplain Tribou.

MISS MARGARET FREEMAN of Troy, a member of the New York State Association Opposed to Woman's Suffrage, has outlined the anti-suffrage standpoint on the present war. Miss Freeman says:

Now that our own country has entered the world war, we anti-suffragists consider that our opponents have shown a great lack of patriotism in forcing a suffrage campaign on the State at this time. Every patriotic citizen wants to give all that is possible of time, energy and money to the service of the country, but as the suffragists will not give up their work we cannot give up ours. This is no time to have to consider a new form of government, which at the best would be a most dangerous experiment for New York State. War or no war, the woman suffrage amendment is to be resubmitted to the voters of the State November 6, 1917. This is a masculine age, with civilization and democracy trembling in the balance. Man must steer the ship of state. Man must govern. The great world war has proved the fact that the power

to rule must rest with those who can enforce it; even peace itself, when it comes, will have to rest on force.

Anti-suffragists must win, or not only allow an aggressive minority to force the great majority of women into politics against their will, but also surrender our Government to feminist politicians and pacifists whose weakness would threaten our country with destruction. We anti-suffragists strongly protest against the suffrage idea that the ballot should be given as a reward for patriotic service. We want no reward, and consider the ballot an unnecessary burden for women.

The volunteer system of suffrage, proposed by those who say women "will not have to vote unless they want to" is as dangerous and inefficient as the volunteer system of military service.

The State cannot survive without woman's work, and man cannot do it; her service to the State is as valuable as man's, but different. Women gladly accept all additional work necessary to win the war, and should be exempt from political duties. Law comparisons, tax comparisons, industrial comparisons show how far ahead the great male suffrage Eastern States are to-day. Why double the electorate? Why increase the vote and decrease efficiency of government? Anti-suffragists believe in progress—not politics for women.

ANTI-SUFFRAGISTS LEAD IN PHILANTHROPY

THE Publicity Committee of the Utica Anti-Suffrage Association makes the following statement in reply to various articles, written recently by suffragists, and characterized as "deceptive propaganda":

"In a recent letter signed by W. R. Ellis, published in a Watertown paper as an answer to an article by Miss Alice Hill Chittenden, president of the New York State Anti-Suffrage Association, Mr. Ellis makes some remarkable statements, which we ask that he either substantiate or withdraw. Mr. Ellis states: 'I know for a fact that in this city (his letter is dated from Utica) the women who have been and are prominent in all work, charitable, social, religious and industrial, are suffragists.' An investigation has been made to ascertain how many heads of 26 of the most prominent organizations and institutions in Utica are suffragists. The results are as follows: Of 17, the presidents are anti-suffragists; of 4, the president are suffragists; of 2, the presidents are neutral. Three of the organizations have no presidents. On the various boards and executive committees of these organizations and institutions there are 494 individuals. Of these 337 are anti-suffragists, 121 are suffragists and 32 are neutrals. Of four the opinions are unknown. As to the Red Cross activities to which Mr. Ellis refers, that work in Utica was begun by members of the Utica Anti-Suffrage Association, and has been carried on almost entirely by them. These women, who have inherited the habit of unostentatious well-doing and have done such splendid work in the last three years, did not go into this for the purpose of advertising the anti-suffrage cause, but to help the suffering. Therefore, they refrained from organizing as an anti-suffrage branch of the Red Cross, lest by so doing some women with suffrage leanings might be deterred from working under these auspices, and the Red Cross would thereby be the loser. It may be of interest to know that Miss Mabel Boardman, president of the National Red Cross Society, whose work is known throughout the world, is also an anti-suffragist and showed her allegiance to the cause by making an address at the anti-suffrage convention in Washington last winter.

"As far as patriotic enthusiasm in the suffrage party is concerned, there seems to be divergence of opinion in their ranks. There are some patriotic women among them, patriotic without interested motives, but most of them are not only pacifists, but follow the advice of their leaders as well and put 'suffrage first.' We find in the Utica *Press* of April 14, 1917, the report of a suffrage meeting held in Utica, where, when talking of the war, one of the speakers is quoted as having said that she considered that 'the greatest patriotic duty of the day was to work for equal suffrage in every way.' When Mrs. Whitehouse made to Governor Whitman the offer of service on the part of the New York State suffragists, she was met with a storm of protest from her party, and it was said that she 'misrepresented the position of a large number of suffragists.' She was called by suffragists 'high-handed,' 'undemocratic,' 'misrepresentative,' and groups of her party are said to have resigned. When Mrs. Catt, pacifist and suffragist, offered the services of her 'two million' followers to President Wilson she was assailed by the suffragists and her offer called 'bumptious,' 'terrible' and 'most inconsiderate.' Mrs. Margaret Lane, suffragist and secretary of the Woman's Peace Party, declared that it was 'an undemocratic act' on the part of the leader of the suffrage party. She said: 'The suffragists' offer is just a miserable crawl to get votes.' Mrs. John Rogers, Jr., a prominent suffragist, declared that 'war is hell-foolery' and further stated that 'these hysterical suffragists who are fawning to lick the hand that spurns women, are, to my mind, lacking in dignity, self-respect and logical thinking. The greatest service we can render to our country remains now exactly what it was before this war menace; that is, to secure votes for all women by Federal amendment.' Suffrage organizations, as well as individuals, condemned both Mrs. Catt and Mrs. Whitehouse.

"On what, then, does Mr. Ellis found his statement as to the great patriotism of suffragists as a party, and why does he say that 'the women of the Red Cross are known far and wide as suffragists'?

"As to Russia, which Mr. Ellis predicts will 'lead America,' she does not seem as yet to have definitely settled on her national policy so that it appears somewhat premature to argue as to the wonderful effects of equal suffrage there. Undoubtedly if the Socialists win out, Russia will have equal suffrage, the two parties being so closely allied. Woman suffrage failed in Assyria, in Greece and in Rome. It failed in France at the time of the French revolution. It failed in New Jersey. It was tried in Austria and given up. It may meet the same fate in Russia.

"Mr. Ellis asks, 'where does Mrs. Chittenden get her idea that woman suffrage is a menace?' She might easily get it from the history of these countries, and from present-day conditions in equal suffrage countries and States, which are both morally and financially unsound.

"Mr. Ellis' prophecy as to the outcome of the next election does not unduly alarm us. We are, for one thing, banking on his being no better prophet than he is statistician, and therefore are not uncomfortably 'desperate.' Mr. Ellis further says that anti-suffragists are 'concocting deceptive propaganda.' If this be so, let suffragists prove it. They have been frequently asked to do so, and have failed. Too many of their own statements have proved misleading to have this of Mr. Ellis' accepted without proof. Anti-suffrage propaganda is founded on proved facts and statistics, which is more than can be said of many of the suffrage statements, which they have often been asked to substantiate, and here, also, have failed. Part of Mr. Ellis' article is devoted to an expression of personal opinion, with which we certainly have no quarrel. Mr. Ellis speaks of the Anti-Suffrage Association as 'The association opposed to democracy and equal rights for women as well as men.' In what way have anti-suffragists proved themselves undemocratic? They certainly believe in the democratic principle of the 'Rule of the Majority,' and believe also that they, the majority, have some 'rights,' amongst them the right to lead their lives as seems to them best for the race, while suffragists, who are trying to establish 'minority rule' and to 'develop women' at the expense of the rest of humanity, are neither democratic nor altruistic.

"What can one think of Mr. Ellis' statements, 'I know for a fact that in this city (Utica) the women who have been and are prominent in all work, charitable, social, religious and industrial, are suffragists' and 'the women in the Red Cross are known far and wide as suffragists'? Has not Mr. Ellis been 'concocting deceptive propaganda'?

"THE PUBLICITY COMMITTEE OF THE UTICA ANTI-SUFFRAGE ASSOCIATION."

"DO YOU KNOW?"

THE suffragists are sending to the voters in the State of New York a letter with the above title. It appeals to their party loyalty. They are told that both the Democratic and Republican parties have declared in favor of political suffrage for women and are asked to follow their party and vote accordingly at the next election.

This appeal ignores the fact of American democracy. With us the will of the people, expressed in a lawful way, controls. In 1915 the people of the State of New York, by a majority of 194,984 decided against the extension of political suffrage to women. The people of this State never authorized any political party to decide differently. No delegates to any political convention ever had authority to decide against this popular vote. If they did undertake to do anything of the sort they simply discredited themselves.

These remarks are even more applicable to declarations from national political conventions. They have no authority whatever to decide local questions relating to separate States. The Republican and Democratic national conventions of 1916 both voted against making the extension of political suffrage to women a national question. Here in any case their authority ceased. Any expression of opinion after that as to what separate States should do was simply an attempt to get rid of the importunities of persistent suffragists.

Let us go one step farther and ask the voters of the State of New York if they think it patriotic to attempt to bring this important question to a vote when this country is in the midst of war. The energies and the money of patriots should be devoted to the support of the Government. But the suffragists have insisted upon bringing this question up now and are themselves spending money and energy which should be devoted to patriotic purposes, in a political suffrage campaign. The voters of New York will put their emphatic condemnation upon such a proceeding.

EVERETT P. WHEELER.

SUFFRAGE CONSISTENCY

IN Nebraska, where they have adopted the initiative and referendum, the anti-suffragists are now securing names to a petition for a referendum to the people of the presidential suffrage bill.

This has naturally aroused all the ire of the suffragists, who declare it to be a piece of high-handed presumption. They were highly elated over legislative enactment of their limited suffrage bill and they bent every energy, excluding every other kind of public work, to accomplish it. And now in their indignation over the action of the antis they declare that the latter would do better to devote themselves to war work than to put obstacles in the way of the women who want the franchise.

In answer, the Nebraska Association Opposed to Woman Suffrage says officially:

The fact that we have decided to ask for a referendum upon the suffrage bill appears to have called forth the wrath of the suffragists. We hear such statements as "When the Nebraska women are engaged in patriotic tasks, etc., the antis put up their fight to deny these women a voice in public affairs. Who are the patriotic women of Nebraska? Surely not the suffragists.

When war was declared in August, 1914, the Red Cross called for funds and, responding to the call, a small band of anti-suffragists collected over $4,300 in less than ten days and sent it to the American Red Cross. The Franco-Belgian Relief Society (now the War Relief) was founded in 1914 by anti-suffragists, and in every patriotic and humane movement you will find the antis giving unselfishly of their time and money. They do not work as antis, but as loyal, patriotic women. No blare of trumpets accompanies their work. It is done quietly and unobtrusively.

The State president of the Suffrage Society was publicly quoted last week as follows: "But while suffrage members stand ready patriotically to help in every good work, they should not forget that national woman suffrage is the fundamental principle underlying all that they do." The antis ask no reward for service to country. It is an insult to the majority of the good women of Nebraska to even suggest it.

Why are the suffragists so disturbed over the proposed referendum? Is it because of the statement made recently by the official suffrage organ that "legislatures are more sensitive to party dictation, party political debts and business interests than are the voters"? We believe that the public can be depended upon to draw a contrast between the actions of the anti-suffragists and those patriots who are now picketing the White House.

THE following letter has been sent to the members of the Maryland Legislature, which met in special session June 12th:

DEAR SIR:

Voicing the sentiments of an overwhelming majority of the women of this State, we urge you to give no countenance to the efforts of certain suffrage factions to force the passage of a woman suffrage act at the special session to the Legislature. The avowed and only justifiable purpose for holding the session is the consideration of emergency war measures.

The plea that a radical change in the franchise law is needed in order to "hearten" and stimulate women in the performance of their duty at this crisis and as a "reward" for services TO BE rendered, is an affront to the womanhood of Maryland which the Legislature should emphatically resent. Not only do all patriotic women stand ready to do their part without price, like their forerunners in all the other American wars, but they would view the imposition of this new and serious political burden not as a reward at all but as an ungracious and ungrateful act.

Your constituents have the right to ask that the contended mass shall not be punished in order to gratify the insatiable ambitions of a comparatively small number of discontented individuals.

The present Legislature has already considered and disapproved this suffrage propaganda. To avoid the obstacle of a three-fifths vote in each of the two Houses and to escape the danger of a compulsory referendum, the proposition to amend the State constitution has now given way to the proposal to force the franchise upon us by simple statute, for such offices as are, technically, not covered by the suffrage clause of the constitution.

The explanation for this change of front will be found in the election results during the last five years. In that interval thirteen important States, with a population of 41,685,510, have defeated woman suffrage by POPULAR VOTE, in spite of previous legislative approval. Three of them have done it twice. In all these States the event proved that the Legislatures had been misled by the noise and clamor of agitation and had failed to comprehend the public feeling in favor of the existing order. In the same period only two States, Nevada and Montana, both of small population, have enfranchised the women by State amendment after referendum.

Though the extension of "democracy" has been one of the standing pretexts for urging woman suffrage, the record shows an increasing unwillingness to risk the "cause" to the test of what many regard as the most democratic of all institutions—the referendum. This explains the frenzied and undignified drive upon the President and Congress to break down State home rule (another democratic principle) and to foist woman suffrage by Federal amendment upon forty-eight States; by the action of the legislatures (not the voters) of thirty-six States; and also the present movement for so-called "statutory" suffrage in all States where a majority in the legislature might be induced or coerced by a systematic campaign of pestering to disregard the prevailing sentiment among the people.

Finally, we beg to remind you that under the new Article 17 of the Maryland constitution no measure passed by the General Assembly other than a bona-fide "emergency" act, can take effect until June 1, 1918. Nothing, therefore, is to be gained by permitting any interference with the legitimate business of the special session.

Respectfully submitted by

THE MARYLAND ASSOCIATION OPPOSED TO WOMAN SUFFRAGE.

(Signed) ANNETTE A. LESER (Mrs. Oscar Leser),

President.

A LETTER TO MISS-REPRESENTATIVE RANKIN FROM A CONSTITUENT

THE following letter was written to Miss Jeannette Rankin by Mrs. Alice C. Brownell, a former resident of New York State, now a resident of Montana and a constituent of Miss Rankin:

April 30, 1917.

HON. JEANNETTE RANKIN,
Congresswoman from Montana.

DEAR MADAM: As a citizen, a Republican, an ardent believer in woman's suffrage, and a mother, I feel impelled to address you.

At the last election I worked and voted for you, believing that you were qualified to represent the people and further the cause of suffrage. I am enclosing a clipping from a Montana paper which expresses the sentiment of the large majority of the people of this State, and I should like to inquire why you have so misrepresented the people of this State.

From the start, the people, as a whole, believed there was no other honorable, humane course to pursue than the one taken by our President.

Not that we crave war, but rather peace with safety and honor. Knowing the sentiment of the people you represent, you wilfully brought disgrace upon our State and the cause of suffrage by your first act in Congress. We appreciate the fact that it was a trying situation, but it was the opportunity of a lifetime for you to demonstrate to the world that a woman could be a statesman, yet I blush when I think how you met it.

The men opposed to suffrage are all saying "I told you so," and those who had been willing to try the "experiment" feel it is a flat failure.

I myself doubt the wisdom of women representatives since your failure in this great crisis of our nation and the world.

Now, as the second great question comes up, that of conscription, you take your stand against it, again wilfully misrepresenting your State. You want to send the brave and the true to do battle for the cowards and knaves who remain at home and stir up strife. In studying the history of our nation and others, I find no instance where the volunteer system has proved efficient; time and money and brave men have been sacrificed for this foolish sentiment. I am a Daughter of the American Revolution and my ancestors fought in the Colonial and Revolutionary wars; also in the War of 1812 and the War of the Rebellion, always for right and the freedom and safety of the Republic. Yesterday I was reading an old letter written by a cousin in the Civil War while on the battlefield, and I beg to quote from this letter to show you the spirit of true manhood. "I should like to live to make my life count for something in the world, but if I am killed it will have been that right and freedom may triumph and the world be made a better place in which to live, and I shall be satisfied." The brave lad never came home, but the cause "triumphed," and of what avail are a few years, more or less, if the world is not made safer and better for our having lived?

I am much older than you and have married sons under thirty who are willing to serve their country wherever they are most needed. I have also a young lady daughter anxious to join the Red Cross for service to her country. You may know by this that the war means something to me, so I feel that I have the right to voice my protest at your actions in Congress.

In closing, I beg of you to stand by the President in this battle for conscription, and by so doing express the will and sentiment of the people whose representatives you are. I ask this in the name of humanity and justice.

Respectfully,
ALICE C. BROWNELL.

THE following letter from the Toronto *Daily News* explains itself:

(Toronto *Daily News*, May 12, 1917)

The announcement by the Provincial Government that women were to be enfranchised was followed by a welcome calm. The caterwauling ceased, and with sighs of relief we looked forward to the discontented group of our women who have been clamoring for political status, settling down to help to win the war. No chance! What is the use of a vote if it keeps you out of the limelight?

Shrill cries were again heard last night in Convocation Hall on the suffrage question. Mrs. Catt lectured on the subject under the guise of a patriotic address entitled "Women's Votes and National Defense." Mrs. Catt never reached national defense, or anything else but votes for women—a subject which is settled for good and all in Ontario. The United States was attacked rather than defended by the lecturer. She was distinctly unpatriotic. Women were exhorted to clean up the mess in the Augean stables of man's politics. The position of the women of Yucatan was compared with that of the women of the United States to the disadvantage of the latter—an insult to the intelligence of her audience, and a defamation of her country. Another patriotic utterance to put forth in a foreign country was, "You never can tell just when you are going to have an honest election in the United States"—and this from a woman who, we hear, has been honored by appointment on the National Defense Committee. Surely even the most ordinary ideas of decency would be sufficient to suggest that her diatribe be confined to the borders of her own country.

A number of the Old Gang were on hand, rejoicing at "the removal of the brand of inferiority from the brows of the mothers of the race," as one put it. But the point hammered in hardest was that women should keep aloft from both political parties. Now one of the pleas of the suffragists, now proved insincere, has always been that they wanted the vote that they might have comradeship with men in working out the destinies of their country. How do women expect to bring about this political comradeship and good feeling between men and themselves if they refuse to have anything to do with the party system? How can they accomplish anything, except through one of the parties? How can they expect a sympathetic attitude from men if they continue to asperse them wholesale? It was stated on the platform last night that men had neglected their duties in connection with children and the home, as shown by the lack of pure food legislation, etc. This is not the case, as the trend of legislation in recent years will show. The men of Ypres and Vimy Ridge are not the breed to block any steps looking to the improvement of the conditions under which women and children live.

The size and lack of enthusiasm of last night's audience indicates that women are not easily fooled, and that they will resist and resent the attempt of a few of their number to stir up sex antagonism, and emphatically so at this world crisis. Signs of a little common sense in the doings and sayings of those who essay to guide their sisters these days would increase the following of their sex and lead to sensible co-operation between men and women in the adoption of wise legislation having as its object the amelioration of existing social conditions. With the Russian Alliance trembling in the balance and the submarine menace unsolved, we need every ounce of energy of every man, woman and child in this country applied to war problems. Last night's meeting, under the circumstances, was a cruel waste of time, energy and electric light.

"TWO OR TEN VOTES?"

"It is urged that the participation of women in the ballot would tend to the purification of political life. If that were susceptible of proof or even reasonably conceivable, the question would not be whether or not they should have a vote, but whether they should have two votes or ten votes. Alas, the contention goes too far. It implies not only that women, born and living under the same social conditions as men, have a higher morality, but also that with intellectual and educational endowments in nowise superior, and with infinitely less experience of political affairs, they yet have a greater political sagacity. We know that these things are, unfortunately, not true; the age of miracles is past. But there is a further implication, for since the political life of the community must inevitably reflect its social conditions, the pretension is set up that woman suffrage would tend to purify or improve the social life of the people. Many noble men and women are devoting their energy to the amendment of social evils and the rectification of social injustice, and most men would support any scheme which held out a fair prospect of elevating the tone of public morality. If women knew better than men how such a desirable thing could be accomplished they would make their method known, and men would adopt it. Nor can the suffragists take refuge in the statement that women would vote the best or better candidate into public office, because that implies their ability both to secure better candidates and to unite in electing him. In other words, it is merely a feeble restatement of a claim to higher morality and superior political sagacity."—*Montreal University Magazine.*

NOTES FROM THE STATES

NEW YORK

ANTI-SUFFRAGISTS being distinguished for their patriotism and their belief in woman's service outside of politics, it was inevitable that the question should arise as to the ethics of continuing our campaign in the solemn months ahead.

Out of that profound questioning and searching of hearts has come a new realization of the scope of anti-suffrage, a renewed consciousness of its sheer patriotism, a stronger determination than ever to work for the overthrow of feminism. Anti-suffrage and patriotism are synonymous, and that is our convincing message in what will prove the historic campaign of 1917.

While anti-suffragists are identified with every phase of patriotic work throughout the State—in many localities the leaders of war relief—loyalty and devotion to anti-suffrage has strengthened.

Seven hundred enthusiastic men and women attended a patriotic anti-suffrage tea in historic Fraunces' Tavern on May 24th. War cake and war bread, with recipes, were on sale and went like the proverbial hot cakes. Red-white-and-blue boutonnières were sold by members of the Junior Anti-Suffrage League.

The reception was held in the famous long room of the tavern, sacred to the memory of Washington's farewell to his officers. The tavern museum, containing a collection of revolutionary and colonial relics, was thrown open for the occasion.

The committee on arrangements were: Mrs. Robert Olyphant, chairman; Mrs. William Allen Bartlett, Mrs. Vernon C. Brown, Mrs. DeWitt Clinton Falls, Mrs. Arthur W. Francis, Miss Elizabeth Gallaudet, Mrs. K. B. Lapham, Mrs. Benjamin Nicoll, Mrs. R. Kelly Prentice, Mrs. Gustaf Stromberg, Miss Anne A. Sands, Mrs. William Gilman Thompson, Mrs. John T. Terry, Miss Alice Hill Chittenden.

Led by Mrs. William McLeod Hanford, a division of anti-suffragists were part of the Red Cross parade in Brooklyn on Saturday, May 26th. While their identity as anti-suffragists was merged under the Red Cross, their division was frequently applauded by the vast crowds along the line of March. They were distinguished by the Red Cross in red carnations.

Brooklyn anti-suffragists are working for the military census in their city. Their enrollment bureau will include women who speak French, Italian and German to intelligently handle the foreign population.

Practically every anti-suffrage speaker not otherwise engaged for Monday evening, June 4th, responded to the call of the Committee on Aliens of the Mayor's Committee on National Defense for volunteer speakers to explain the meaning of the draft to aliens in Greater New York the night before the conscription law went into effect.

Held in the congested foreign districts, before audiences not familiar with American traditions nor ideals, these meetings served an educational as well as patriotic purpose. Among the speakers so assigned were Miss Uhl, Miss Price, Miss Dorman and Miss Rowe.

A large contingent of anti-suffragists are assisting in selling Liberty Bonds. One group is in charge of one of the largest New York hotels. Others are located in department stores and other large centers.

MAINE

AT the annual meeting of the Maine Anti-Suffragist Association officers were chosen as follows:

Honorary president, Mrs. Sidney W. Thaxter; president, Mrs. Clarence Hale; vice-presidents, Mrs. Oscar R. Wish, Mrs. I. W. Dyer, Mrs. George I. Bird; treasurer, Mrs. Bertrand T. Wheeler; secretary, Mrs. Fred E. Hollis; assistant secretary, Mrs. W. H. Bradford; registrar, Mrs. Clayton T. Whipple; auditor, Mrs. Edville G. Abbott, all of Portland.

The work of the Anti-Suffrage Association is going steadily on in this State, varied activities in behalf of the work are being carried on by the women assisted by a few men in the towns and cities. Waterville, with over 100 members, is working from its own headquarters, loaned by Senator Bartlett. The Association meets once in two weeks and it is the plan of the program committee, Mrs. A. J. Roberts, Mrs. Wm. T. Haines and Miss Dorr, to have some out-of-town anti give an informal talk on the work at these meetings. A banner similar to the one in Portland is soon to be placed in a conspicuous place in the city bearing the words "Vote No on Woman's Suffrage."

Gardiner has a goodly number of enrolled antis, who meet as occasion requires. Mrs. Fred N. Boston and Mrs. Frederick Bradstreet, the chairman, have given a banner to be placed on the main street. This will read as the Portland banner does, "Let Men Rule the Government; Women in the Home. Vote No on Woman's Suffrage"; and on the reverse side, "Help the Women of Maine Vote No on Woman's Suffrage." Gardiner has already contributed nearly $200 for the campaign fund.

Mrs. Henry Preston White of Boston has been with us speaking and organizing during the months of May and June. Mrs. White has made a most successful tour in the Eastern part of the State, taking in the cities and town from Waterville to Eastport, and has made return engagements in many of the places she has visited. June 12th Mrs. White speaks to the Rotary Club of Lewiston and Auburn, to a woman's club, three times at the movies and to the students of Bates College. The following day she is booked for the Old Town Grange, then retraces her steps through Bar Harbor, North East Harbor, South West Harbor, Calais, Fort Fairfield, Houlton Van Buren and so on up the line.

Miss Minnie Bronson spoke to the Portland anti-suffragists in the Congress Square Hotel on June 6th, and the same evening she addressed the Gorham Board of Trade. June 7th Miss Bronson spoke in Farmington and Wilton; the last two meetings were arranged for by Hon. Cyrus Blanchard, who is of great aid during the present campaign. Mrs. W. W. Churchill of Boston spoke in debate with Mrs. Florence Brooks Whitehouse, and Hon. Nathan Clifford of Portland spoke to the Men's Club of the Episcopal Church at their regular meeting. Mrs. Charles Bird of Yarmouth and Portland debated our side of the issue at the Pesumpscot Grange, after which a straw vote was taken showing a large majority for anti-suffrage.

We are sending twenty-three newspapers anti-suffrage copy each week from our headquarters. This is being done by Miss White, who is a newspaper woman. As secretary, Miss White has been present at the meeting of the branches at Waterville, Augusta and Gardiner and given short talks on the work we are doing.

ALICE D. W. WHITE, Gen. Sec'y.

MASSACHUSETTS

FOURTEEN meetings were held in Massachusetts in May. Beside furnishing speakers for these meetings, Massachusetts sent Mrs. W. W. Churchill to Maine to take part in two debates. The second business women's supper, at which Miss Heloise Hersey was the principal speaker, was even more of a success than the first and the interest and enthusiasm aroused and the number of signatures secured indicate that these suppers will become a permanent institution.

Three branches have been enrolled since our last report—Charlton, Southbridge and Spencer.

A War Emergency Committee has been formed, with Mrs. William P. Shreve of the Executive Committee as chairman and

Mrs. John Balch as treasurer. This committee investigates thoroughly every request for relief brought to its attention and takes immediate steps to supply necessities to our army and navy recruits. Already 100 blankets, fifty mufflers, fifty sweaters and fifty pairs of socks have been sent to the Marblehead recruiting station and 100 duffle bags furnished for the naval recruits at Commonwealth Pier Station, Boston.

Mrs. John Balch is chairman of the Milton Committee to provide food for starving Belgian children. Mrs. W. W. Churchill, another of our Milton members, is serving on this committee which raised $19,000 in nineteen days. The committee originally planned to provide for children in one town; at this writing they have taken charge of three towns. Mrs. Oliver Howe of Cohasset is starting this work in her town through the D. A. R.

The Brookline Branch has sent the following letter to Philip S. Parker, Esq., chairman of the Brookline Committee on Public Safety:

"At the last meeting of the Executive Board of the Brookline Anti-Suffrage Association it was voted to offer the services of the board to the Brookline Safety Committee, and you will understand, of course, that no political propaganda goes with these services, if they are needed."

The Newton Branch has put the PROTEST in the Newton Free Library.

The Executive Committee of the Fall River Branch voted to take an active part in all relief measures that are being projected by the Red Cross workers, and to lend every aid possible in forwarding the general purposes of this organization.

A volume of "Anti-Suffrage Essays by Massachusetts Women" has been presented to the Public Library of Lawrence by the Lawrence Branch.

On the occasion of General Joffre's visit to Boston Mrs. Stephen S. FitzGerald, our president, in behalf of the Association, presented to him for Mme. Joffre a specially designed American flag brooch, with an incribed card carrying a message of friendship and love from the 40,000 members of the Massachusetts Anti-Suffrage Association. The brooch represents the first American flag of independence, with thirteen stars. It is of enamel on silver and it rests in a special case with a lining of the French tri-color.

The annual meeting of the Public Interests League was held on May 22d at old campaign headquarters, 685 Boylston Street. At this meeting a handsome flag was presented by Mrs. B. L. Robinson, president, in behalf of the League, to the Boston City Hospital unit, which will shortly leave for France. The flag was accepted for the unit by Dr. E. H. Nichols. Lieutenant Giraudoux, one of the French army officers at Harvard, spoke briefly. He complimented the League on its work of relief of distressed families in France and said that this work was a good omen for the work that might have to be done in this country before the war is over. The League participated in the Municipal League's exhibition and demonstration at Jordan & Marsh's department store the week of May 7th-12th, and is planning a food exchange in October for the benefit of members and any other women who may be interested.

NEW JERSEY

ALL officers were re-elected at the annual meeting of the New Jersey Association Opposed to Woman Suffrage. They are: President, Mrs. E. Yarde Breese of Trenton; treasurer, Mrs. Charles R. Smith of Paterson; recording secretary, Mrs. G. Herbert Smith of Summit; corresponding secretary, Mrs. Ellsworth A. Corbett of Trenton; general secretary, Mrs. O. D. Oliphant of Trenton; chairman of the legislative committee, Miss Clara Vezin of Elizabeth, and chairman of entertainment committee, Mrs. Edward H. Cross.

The vice-presidents, all re-elected, are: Mrs. Thomas J. Preston, Jr., of Princeton, Mrs. Garret A. Hobart of Paterson, Mrs. John R. Emery of Morristown, Mrs. Theodore C. Woodbury, Miss Vezin, Miss Henrietta O. Magie of Elizabeth, Miss Anne MacIlvaine of Trenton, Mrs. Hamilton Fish Kean of Elizabeth, Mrs. William Libbey of Princeton, Mrs. Horace F. Nixon, Mrs. Henry M. Darcy of this city, Mrs. William S. Stryker, Trenton; Mrs. Sherman B. Joost, Mrs. Henry L. Seligman, Mrs. Thomas B. Adams, Mrs. Robert C. Maxwell, Trenton, and Miss Elizabeth DeH. Kean.

In presenting the report of the legislative committee, Miss Vezin dwelt on the recent indorsement by the New Jersey State Federation of Women's Clubs of the suffrage question. Among other things, she said: "The question of the federation voting to indorse suffrage was, however, not as important a matter to us as to the clubs, for in Pennsylvania, New York and Massachusetts the federations had indorsed suffrage and yet at election the issue was overwhelmingly defeated. It is to be hoped that the efficiency of their work will not be impaired in the future. Already many resignations in individual clubs have taken place, and it is a question whether the influence of the clubs upon the Legislature will be as effective as a political organization rather than as a non-partizan body of women.

"The political situation in New Jersey is most encouraging. The suffragists have not made any progress in the Legislature since the defeat of woman suffrage in 1915. As you know, in 1916 they asked our Legislature to grant them the vote for presidential electors. The Senate committee granted a hearing to both sides at that time. The bill was killed in committee."

After telling of the activity of the legislative committee to secure the co-operation of the legislators on the suffrage question, and reviewing the status of the Federal suffrage amendment, Miss Vezin concluded by commending the members of the New Jersey Legislature, who, she said, "realize that they are elected to represent the people of New Jersey, and that when the will of the voters has defeated woman suffrage by a majority of 51,108 they should have no right to go against the wishes of their constituents. They have shown their courage and uprightness in the stand they have taken on this question, and the full realization of their duty."

Miss Minnie Bronson, General Secretary of the National Asociation, took issue with the methods followed by the suffragists in their endeavor to secure the passage of the Federal suffrage amendment. "Before the Congress of the United States," she said, "Mrs. Carrie Chapman Catt, president of the National Woman's Suffrage Association, pleaded for the enfranchisement of women, but she argued that if the matter was left to the voters it would be doomsday before the women would get the vote, and she asked that the voters be disfranchised on this question and that suffrage be forced on the women in opposition to their wishes."

Arguing on the gains claimed by the suffragists, Miss Bronson said: "Statutory suffrage laws passed in several States this winter show that the suffragists are now fighting in the last trench. They claim seven States through statutory suffrage, but in five of these the law of initiative and referendum obtain. Petitions have been passed and signatures secured in these States sufficient to refer the question back to the people, and since suffrage has been defeated in all these five States there is no question in our minds that this action in the Legislature will be repudiated by the voters and the seven States claimed will drop out of the suffrage map."

WISCONSIN

MRS. C. E. ESTABROOK was re-elected president of the Wisconsin Society Opposed to Woman's Suffrage at the annual meeting yesterday in the Hotel Pfister. Other officers elected are:

First vice-president, Miss Mary Atwood; second vice-president, Mrs. F. W. Hoyt, Madison; secretary, Mrs. H. M. Seaman; treasurer, Mrs. Laura Litchfield. The following directors, whose terms expired, were re-elected: Mmes. James G. Flanders, E. P. Vilas, John W. Mariner, Patrick Cudahy, Walter Wright. Mrs. Francis E. Day was elected to fill a vacancy for 1918 and Mrs. W. G. Thwaites for 1919.

A committee was appointed to organize a home defense league which is to co-operate with the Catholic women societies of Milwaukee and the Y. W. C. A. It consists of Mmes. C. E. Estabrook, Paul Meyer, L. W. Booth, A. J. Eimermann and Coly Strong.

OHIO

ON the 19th of May the Ohio Association Opposed to Woman Suffrage filed signatures with the Secretary of State calling for a referendum of the Reynolds Act passed by the Ohio Legislature last session, giving women presidential suffrage in that State.

The following is taken from the Cincinnati *Enquirer* for May 19th:

"COLUMBUS, Ohio, May 18th.—With thousands of extra signatures and other thousands held in reserve, the organization opposed to woman suffrage is ready to file tomorrow with Secretary of State Fulton the petitions to submit to a referendum the Reynolds Act extending the ballot to women on presidential electors.

The organization expects to be on its guard in the event the suffrage organization seeks to have the petitions declared to be invalid or by going into the court for an injunction against the election, raising thereby legal issues that once were ruled upon by the Attorney-General.

As the opponents claim the defeat of the Reynolds Act will be certain if the people vote, the organization expects the suffragists to resort to many tactics to prevent the issues being settled by the whole body of the voters. If the anti-suffrage organization can assure a vote, it believes the rest will be easy, although it expects to make a vigorous campaign against the Reynolds Act.

The petitions were secured along new lines, the managers say. Solicitors in many instances worked without pay, and because they were interested, while those who were employed were instructed not to visit saloons. For this reason the maximum of names was not realized. In getting up the petitions the turmoil caused by the war figured to some extent, it was said. In peace times the petitions would have been twice as large, it was believed.

The petitions were well distributed over the State, although the exact figures have not been given out. All the cities contributed their quota, but prohibition districts in the country did equally well.

One issue that helped get names, it was said, was the charge that the General Assembly, in enacting the law, embezzled the power of the people, it being recalled that the people twice expressed disapproval of the proposition.

MARYLAND

Woman suffrage for Maryland was defeated for the time being by a vote of 56 to 41 in the House. The partial suffrage bill in which women would vote for President, Vice-President and in municipal elections except in Baltimore City, also in primary elections, was the matter before the House. The Baltimore *Sun* of June 22, editorially says:

"The Maryland Senate acted favorably on the suffrage bill before it had heard of the latest insult to the President on the part of the so-called White House pickets. If the Senate had any respect for the head of the nation, it should rebuke his defamers by reconsidering its action."

NOTES AND COMMENT

THE following editorial is taken from the Omaha *Nebraskan*, a pro-suffrage paper. It cannot therefore be accused of opposition partisanship:

"OMAHA, Neb., Thursday, April 26, 1917.

How WOMAN SUFFRAGE WON

Nineteen senators voted to place the bill to repeal the Mockett Law on the general file. That was two more than necessary to pass the repeal bill.

Then the German lobby, which controlled the sifting committee, promised certain of those senators, who were particularly interested in woman suffrage, that they would bring the woman suffrage bill out of the sifting committee, thus permitting it to pass, if the repeal bill were defeated.

The intense bitterness which German politicians have shown for woman suffrage, considered with their willingness to permit woman suffrage to be adopted if they could only keep the German language in the public schools, shows the intensity of the effort to Prussianize the Nebraska schools.

It is a good thing for the State for women to be given even this limited suffrage, but it is just as well for people to know how it was brought about. The repeal of the Mockett Law can wait for two years. We are going to knock the Kaiser's language out of the grade schools, anyway."

For this unpatriotic work, condemned by every right-minded man of Nebraska, whether a suffragist or not, a telegram of congratulations was sent to the Governor of Nebraska, signed by Mr. Frank A. Vanderlip, Everit Macy, George W. Perkins, Judge Gary, Franklin McCutcheons and others, members of the Men's Advisory Board of the New York State Woman Suffrage Party.

(Sioux City, Iowa, *Tribune*, May 11, 1917)

United States Marshal Milton Perry Smith is investigating the case of the pro-German speaker at the meeting of the Iowa State Suffrage Association at the First Methodist Church yesterday. According to the information received from local women, who were in attendance at the meeting, the speaker made several radical pro-German remarks. If enough evidence can be brought it is probable that a charge of seditious utterances will be placed against her and the case brought to the attention of the grand jury, Marshal Smith said.

There are forty-one women on the Seattle jury list for June.

(New York *Sun*, May 16, 1917)

England's new suffrage bill just presented to Parliament grants suffrage only to women over thirty. Thus is bright promise turned to ashes in the mouth.

SUFFRAGE FIRST

At a meeting of the National Woman's Party, held in the ballroom of the Ritz-Carleton Hotel, New York, May 29th, Mrs. John Rogers, Jr., said in response to the mild charge of Mrs. C. C. Catt that picketing was "just now" injuring the suffrage cause:

"Those lovely pickets are putting suffrage where it belongs, FIRST."

The National Woman's Party have announced their determination to work for suffrage only and Miss Alice Paul, the chairman, has issued a manifesto against war work. Mrs. Catt's objection was to the picketing of the White House only. She, too, believes in suffrage FIRST. Her addresses on defense made under the auspices of the National Council of Defense are, to quote a Toronto paper, "long on suffrage and short on defense." The meeting on May 29th was addressed by Dudley Field Malone and Mr. J. A. H. Hopkins, both of whom endorsed the action of the Woman's Party.

What will the suffragists charge us with next? The bill for a referendum giving full suffrage to women was defeated in the Illinois Legislature on April 10th. The president of the Illinois Suffrage Association, Mrs. Grace Wilbur Trout, opposed the bill, declaring that it was "an anti-suffrage measure."

TWO POINTS OF VIEW

"What has woman ever done for the country?" asked a Civil War veteran of Dr. Anna Howard Shaw. "Well," said Dr. Shaw, "women have produced a lot of men, though I am loath to give them much credit for that."

"What has man ever done for the world," asked Dr. Shaw in a speech in Philadelphia. "He has furnished woman with a model she is trying dern hard to imitate," replied a man in her audience.

The Governor of Nevada is both a brave man and a far-sighted politician. Nevada is an equal suffrage State, and in an interview in the New York *Sunday Times* of May 6th he is reported to have said that he feared Nevada had produced two "national nuisances" in the persons of two woman leaders of the Congressional Union. These were Ann Martin and Mabel Vernon. He said, however, that he thought the Western Democrats, of whom he is one, owed a gold medal to these two, who campaigned in the West against Wilson before election. They had done much for the Democratic ticket by advocating Mr. Hughes.

Suffragists are claiming that State legislatures have the power to determine who may vote for presidential electors and that this power can in no way be curtailed or limited by the constitution of the State, because the right to take such action is conferred on the legislature by the Federal Constitution.

Under such a ruling, of course, the State could limit the franchise for presidential electors to the German population or extend it to the boys of sixteen, or, what is more to the point, a Republican legislature could limit it to Republicans, thereby ensuring the success of their ticket.

MRS. B. MORRISON FULLER, a leading suffragist of St. Louis, attending the convention of the Equal Suffrage Association of Missouri in Kansas City, May 22d, is reported in the Kansas City paper of that date to have said, "The wets believe that if women get the ballot in Missouri the State will vote 'dry.' But that does not necessarily follow. Experience has shown in other States that the majority of women vote as the majority of men do, pretty well in line with the ruling sentiment in their community. In counties where wet sentiment predominates the majority of them would vote wet and in counties where dry sentiment predominates the majority would vote dry. Women are just people, although those who would deny them the franchise seem unwilling to admit it."

Mrs. Fuller is apparently trying to "catch em" both ways, which it a time-worn suffrage trick.

And her reasoning(?) is so typical of the suffrage mind. "The majority of men vote pretty well in line with the ruling sentiment of the community." Whose ruling sentiment? Their own? That is what votes are for, apparently to find out what the ruling sentiment of a community is and what would be the "ruling sentiment" if the majority voted against it? Or does the lady mean that the majority of men vote in line with the "ruling sentiment" of women of the community, and if so, where is the point to the demand for Votes for Women? And if the majority of women vote in line with the ruling sentiment of the community, do they vote their own ruling sentiment or that of the men of the community. If the latter, where is the point in the demand? If the majority of men vote the "ruling sentiment" of both, why double the effort? If men and women are equal in numbers and the majority of each votes the "ruling sentiment" of their sex and their "ruling sentiments" disagree, what happens?

Anyway, Mrs. Fuller makes it quite clear(?) that women will not change the "ruling sentiment" on the liquor question by their votes. She says those who oppose votes for women deny that women are people. Well, it is a little hard to believe that a woman whose mind works just like Mrs. Fuller's can be people.

A well-known suffragist in England at an open-air meeting was denouncing the government in general and the Prime Minister in particular. Asked by a member of the audience whom she would like to see in Mr. Asquith's place she said that as she had no vote it was not for her to say. When it was pointed out that this attitude was somewhat incongruous with the tenor of her speech she replied, "If you press me to name someone I should say Christabel Pankhurst."—*The Anti-Suffrage Review.*

Mr. Charles McLean of Dubuque, Iowa, has called our attention to an error in the PROTEST for May. Iowa was given as a campaign State in 1920. But the bill which passed the last session of the Iowa Legislature must pass the Legislature of 1918 in order to submit the suffrage question to the people. We have no idea that that will occur.

Through the papers Dr. Anna Howard Shaw, formerly president of the National Woman's Suffrage Association, has announced that hereafter she will eat only one egg for breakfast and will substitute hot water for coffee in order to conserve the food supply. Well, what of it? For several weeks three workers in anti-suffrage headquarters have given up breakfasts entirely in order to conserve food, but they never thought of using it as a means of self-advertising.

POLITICAL PAJAMAS TABOO

Thirty-seven pairs of pajamas, made for the army by the Women's Political Union of Roselle, N. J., have been returned by the Elizabeth Chapter of the Red Cross because the garments carried "Votes for Women" legends.

Mrs. E. W. Lyon, president of the Chapter, says the Political Union was warned not to designate in any way the character of the organization making the pajamas. "We recognize no politics, no religion, no sect," said Mrs. Lyon.

Miss Mary Mulford, president of the Women's Political Union, says she was assured that the garments could bear the suffrage slogan.

"I have forwarded them to the national headquarters at Washington," she said.—*New York World*, June 9, 1917.

A PROGRESSIVE LEGISLATURE

The recent Minnesota Legislature defeated woman suffrage, and passed thirty-five out of forty-three measures submitted by the Minnesota Child Welfare Commission. The *Survey* says: "In many respects Minnesota now has as soundly progressive laws relating to children as will be found on the statute books of any State in the Union."

AN UNPROGRESSIVE LEGISLATURE

The recent Indiana Legislature granted presidential suffrage to woman; it killed the bill providing for all-time county health officers; it also killed the bill which would have greatly aided the control of infectious diseases by providing medical examination of school children. Not even a commission to investigate health insurance was secured —much less insurance itself. Measures were killed that aimed to control venereal diseases and to prohibit the sale of habit-forming drugs. The *Survey* says: "The report pictures a gory session."—*Anti-Suffrage Notes*, No. 157.

WAR, A MAN'S JOB

"All Americans," says the Memphis *News Scimitar*, "honor Miss Jeannette Rankin for her tears and her 'no' vote on the issue of the war. She displayed her true tenderness and womanliness, and these qualities are something that all brave men respect." True, but then most brave men suspect that these qualities are better displayed in the home than in the legislative halls. Suppose the majority of the Congress had been Rankins; think you that tears and womanly tenderness would have stayed the hand of the German war lord? Apparently war is a man's job.

THE NEW YORK STATE ASSOCIATION OPPOSED TO WOMAN SUFFRAGE

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